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HUMAN EVENTS

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J.F.K.—High Class Beatnik?

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By AYN RAND
Author of *The Fountainhead* and *Atlas Shrugged*

THE FIRST QUESTION to ask of a Presidential candidate is: does he regard the American voters as adult, responsible human beings who need all the specific knowledge he can give them, in order to pass judgment on crucial issues—or does he regard them as blind masses, incapable of connecting two paragraphs within the same speech, seeking to be taken by any leader who'll relieve them of the responsibility of decision?

The keynote of Senator Kennedy's acceptance speech is that there exists a "New Frontier" which requires that we elect him to the Presidency of the United States. It is, therefore, important that we understand the exact nature of that New Frontier. Here is his description of it: "We stand today on the edge of a new frontier—the frontier of the Nineteen Sixties—the frontier of unknown opportunities and perils—the frontier of unfulfilled hopes and unfilled threats."

This sounds impressive, until one notices that instead of saying: "the frontier of the Nineteen Sixties," one could say: "The frontier of the *Nineteen-Fifties* (or "the Eighteen-Thirties" or "the Seventeen-Forties") and that the rest of the sentence would be equally applicable. In fact, there's no decade of history to which it would *not* be applicable. So the only specific thing Senator Kennedy has told us about his "New Frontier" is the date. If he meant something more than what any calendar could tell us, what *did* he mean?

The answer is scattered through his speech like the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle that the listener has to assemble. "We must prove all over again to a watching world . . . " says Senator Kennedy, "whether this nation—conceived as it is with its freedom of choice, its breadth of opportunity, its range of alternatives—can compete with the single-minded advance of the Communist system. Can a nation organized and governed such as ours endure?

Senator Kennedy does not answer that question directly. But if one puts together the scattered half-answers, they add up to a loud: *"No."* If any listener was left uneasy, with the dimly anxious impression that the American system was being obliterated in that speech, he will find the reasons listed below.

"Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom," says Senator Kennedy, "promised our nation a new political and economic framework. Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal promised security and succor to those in need. But the New Frontier of which I speak is not a set of promises—it is a set of challenges. It sums up not what I intend to offer to the American people, but what I intend to ask of them. It appeals to their pride, it appeals to our pride, not our security—it holds out the promise of more sacrifice, instead of more security."

Sacrifice—of *what* and to *whom?* Senator Kennedy does not specify.

Now remember that Woodrow Wilson's policy plunged the United States into World War I and, instead of "making the world safe for democracy," as promised, it brought into existence three *new* "economic and political frameworks": Communist Russia, Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany. Franklin Roosevelt's policy plunged the United States into World War II and, instead of achieving the "Four Freedoms," as promised, it surrendered one-third of the world's population into slavery to Communist Russia. In both cases, the results were the exact opposite of the promises.

IF A MAN HELD THOSE PROMISES as his political goal, such a record would make him pause and reconsider those policies. He would ask: haven't the American people sacrificed enough? Have their enormous sacrifices of blood, wealth and effort brought about a better world—or a chronic state of crises, emergencies and ever greater dangers, and a growing spread of *dictatorships?* And, asking it, he would repudiate those policies as a ghastly failure.

But if a man *approved* of these *actual results,* if he held these results—not the verbal promises—as his political goal, he would not repudiate those policies.

Senator Kennedy does not repudiate those policies. He acclaims them and declares his intention to carry them farther—but, this time, without the hampering pretense of any promises. Farther—where? He does not specify. He is scornful of *"security,"* of *"normalcy,"* of *"private comfort."* He is scornful of "those who wish to hear more assurances of a golden future, where taxes are always low and subsidies are always high." He envisions a government that *takes,* but does not *give*—takes taxes, but gives no subsidies, takes sacrifices, but gives no promises.

He is scornful of the Republican party as "the party of the past—the party of memory . . . . Their pledge is to the status-quo—and today there is no status quo." Since the *American* past is the political system of freedom (and Free Enterprise), it is *this* system that Senator Kennedy regards as only a memory. If "there is no status quo," if we are a country with a dead past and no political system—what does Senator Kennedy intend to create for us?

"All over the world," he says, "particularly in the newer nations, young men are coming to power—men who are not bound by the traditions of the past— men who are not blinded by the old fears and hates and rivalries—young men who can cast off the old slogans and the old delusions."

Young men like Castro—or Nasser—or Lumumba?

There are no young men anywhere in today's world who are coming to power to establish a system of political freedom. But there are many varieties of ambitious, power-lusting young *statists* of the

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Communist-Fascist kind, who have no political program save the use of violence, and no system, save the rule of brute force.

In the newer nations of the world, "the old slogans and the old delusions"—which those young men "cast off"—belonged to various kinds of old tyrannies (which they replace with new tyrannies of their own). But in America "the old slogans and the old delusions" to be "cast off" are the ideas and the principles of political freedom. And we ought to take Senator Kennedy's word for the fact that he *has* cast them off.

"The only valid test of leadership," he states, "is the ability to lead, and lead vigorously."

To lead—*where?*

Senator Kennedy does not specify.

TO A CIVILIZED MIND, that "where?" is the *first test* of leadership, by which one judges the qualifications of any would-be leader. But to Senator Kennedy, "vigor" is the only qualification necessary. Yet the vigor of a prizefighter is not the same thing as the vigor of a scientist—the vigor of a thug is not the same thing as the vigor of a thinker—the vigor of a dictatorship is not the same thing as the vigor of the President of a free country.

Which did he mean? Senator Kennedy does not specify.

"That is the question of the New Frontier," says Senator Kennedy. "That is the choice that our nation must make—a choice that lies not merely between two men and two parties, but between the public interest and private comfort—between national greatness and national decline—between the fresh air of progress and the stale, dank atmosphere of 'normalcy'—between dedication or mediocrity."

Does this awaken any echoes in your memory? Do you remember who regarded "normalcy" as "mediocrity," scorned "private comfort" in the name of "*national* greatness," and demanded the production of guns instead of butter? It was Goering.

And *this* seems to be the key to the riddle of Senator Kennedy. Yes, he is opposed to communism. But is he opposed to it as an advocate of the American system—or as an advocate of some "new," home-grown version of *fascism* which he seeks the power to establish?

His is not the line or the style of an advocate of the American system. The American system does not regard "private comfort" and "public interest" as opposites; it regards the "public interest" of a country as consisting of the "*private comfort*" of its citizens. The American system has achieved the highest standard of living ever known on earth, and its progress has raised that standard ever higher for all people on all economic levels. But *that* is what Senator Kennedy calls "national decline" and "the stale, dank atmosphere of 'normalcy.'" What, then, is the "abnormalcy" he advocates? What does he regard as more efficient, more practical, more conducive to national greatness? There is only one alternative: the "single-mindedness" of a dictatorship.

His is not the line or the style of a liberal, nor of a middle-of-the-road'er, nor even a naive, old-fashioned Socialist—all of whom profess to hold the *welfare*, the *comfort*, the *security* of their citizens as the standard of a nation's greatness.

When a man extols "*leadership*"—leadership without direction—leadership without any stated purpose, program or ideal—leadership for the sake of leadership—you may be sure that you are hearing the voice of a man motivated by power-lust. It is specifically the power-lust of the Fascist variety, because the Communists promise their victims an alleged social ideal, while the Fascists offer nothing but loose talk about some unspecified form of *racial* or *national* "greatness."

AND IF ONE KEEPS THIS IN MIND, the nature of the "New Frontier" becomes intelligible, and the figure emerging from the Democratic National Convention seems to step out into a different light. Is it the figure of a bright young man, or is it the figure of an irresponsible young beatnik, a *high-class beatnik*, who, with unlimited means at his disposal, chose the power-game, as others choose hot-rod racing—for kicks?

That figure seems to suggest the image of a cynical young man, reared in an authoritarian tradition, in the post-New Deal era, who, substituting insolence for self-confidence, seeing nothing but the range of the immediate moment, brashly proclaims that political freedom is out, dead, old-fashioned or "square," that dictatorships are here to stay, that the rule of brute force is the mode of the future—and who longs to get into the big league of the muscle-men, to run "a race for mastery of the sky and the rain, the ocean and the tides, the far side of space and the inside of men's minds"—to "compete with the single-minded advance of the Communist system"—to compete in the art of enslavement, expropriation, mass slaughter and military conquest—and to justify it all by means of a mysterious "New Frontier" that turns out to be nothing but the shabby old "*Wave of the Future.*"

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Kennedy's Dangerous Picketing Bill

It Makes Defense Plants More Vulnerable To Shut Downs

By Raymond Moley

Union leaders who are supporting Senator Kennedy have been working since January to get Congressional approval of the Kennedy-Thompson Situs Picketing Bill, S. 2643. Kennedy has listed this measure as one which he will insist upon. Its implications in all industry, and especially in that part of industry which is manufacturing defense material, are very grave, not to say alarming.

As it is, illegal picketing and boycotts at missile bases and other military installations have stopped work for weeks at a time, lost thousands of man-hours, have cost the taxpayers millions, and have delayed the defense effort. A few examples will indicate how serious it would be to legalize such stoppages.

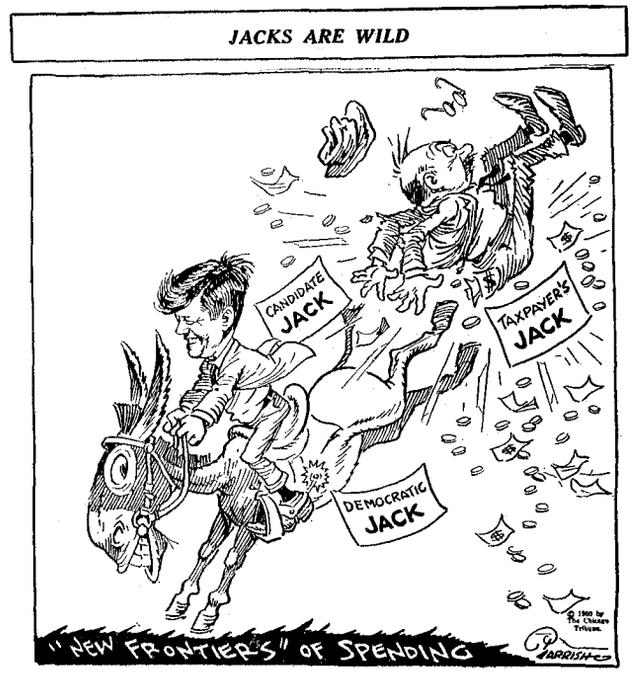
In 1958 at the Richards-Gebaur Air Force Base in Missouri, there was a secondary boycott by a local union of the Operating Engineers to stop the awarding of a subcontract for supplies to a firm which was not unionized. The government took the case to the District Court and secured an injunction which lifted the picketing. The Kennedy-Thompson bill would remove such a legal remedy, and presumably the local union would be able to halt all activity at the base for an indefinite time. In short, the authority of the government would be superseded by the power of the union.

At Cape Canaveral in 1956, one of the subcontractors for the wate distribution system was an open-shop contractor. The plumbers' union stopped the entire operation of this critically important installation for 15 days.

This year, a similar stoppage took place at the Titan Missile Base at the Larson Air Force Base in Kansas. The strike was by the iron workers' union, and all operations were closed down, including work being done by contractors who had no dispute with the unions at all. If the Kennedy-Thompson bill had been enacted, the NLRB would have been powerless in that instance. Similar situations have taken place at the Atlas sites in two other bases in Kansas.

This summer three missile bases near Cheyenne, Wyoming have been closed down by the cement finishers' union because one of the contractors wanted to use some ready-mix concrete material made by a commercial firm with which the union had a dispute.

The Kennedy-Thompson bill would, of course, cover all construction operations. As a compromise, Senator Prouty intends to offer an amendment which would exclude from its provisions any secondary boycotts at a military facility. But this would only remove the most glaring sorts of secondary boycotts. For all secondary boycotting is costly to the economy, and the soundness of the economy is essential to national security.



Kennedy shows no intention to agree to the limitation. For his union sponsors realize that their more favorable spot to force their will is in defense work. The passage of such a bill would move this country still further into what would be substantially a labor government. Perhaps that is what Senator Kennedy anticipates if elected President.

Now Hear This, Jack

From the Chicago Daily News

A good deal of communication takes place by sound, rather than print, these days. This invites a new wave of punning, particularly among the junior members of the household. For instance:

Question: How many ears does Jack Kennedy have?

Answer: I dunno, how many?

Questioner, answering: Three. A right ear, a left ear, and that new front ear . . . .

We hope this new front ear is not too widely open to suggestions that with the passing of America's old frontier the new frontier is going to be the expansion of collectivism.

And, meanwhile, we hope he can hear just as well with his right ear as his left ear.

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New Frontier—Gold Rushes In

From the Battle Line

Senator Jack Kennedy, naturally, has been trying to play down the practical effect his father's $400 million had on the Democratic primaries.

In a revealing article in the August 13, 1960, edition of the *Saturday Evening Post*, however, reporter Stewart Alsop adds some interesting details *so far undenied by the Junior Senator from Massachusetts.*

At one point, the article mentions "the theory that Joe Kennedy has financed and masterminded his son's drive for the White House as a recompense for his own thwarted Presidential ambitions."

Alsop sheds this light on the extent of this financing: A "Kennedy insider" was asked what price tag he would put on Kennedy's pre-convention activities if the insider were to "testify under oath."

The Kennedy insider came up with the figure $1,150,000.

Other insights the article provides into Kennedy's $400 million juggernaut—Kennedy makes enormous use of polls from an organization which charges $5,000 per poll.

Kennedy can and has paid as much as $12,880 for a single mailing to a single state.

Kennedy's campaign plane is owned by a family corporation which "rents" it to him. The family retains a $300,000 equity in the plane so the rental "is not considered a campaign contribution."

Just after the Democratic convention, Jaren L. Jones, Vice Chairman of the GOP Arrangements Committee, put the Kennedy expenditure for his nomination closer to $7,000,000. Said Jones, "One heartwarming aspect of Kennedy's nomination was that it proved the American dream that any boy could win the Democratic nomination for President—providing his father has $400 million."

Helping National Growth

Letter to the Cincinnati Enquirer

I have read recently that Mrs. John Kennedy purchases her wardrobe from exclusive shops in Paris and that Mr. Kennedy is importing his campaign suits from London. Now I would like to ask Mr. Kennedy how he can earnestly have the welfare of labor and industry in our country at heart?

We hear so much of America's growth from the Democrats. Is this Mr. Kennedy's contribution?

—GLADYS M. KOCHER
Milford, Ohio

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Kennedy's Platform Repudiated

Brooklyn Tablet Supports Goldwater's Principles

By Westbrook Pegler

The Brooklyn *Tablet's* political editorial for July 23 repudiated everything that Jack Kennedy stands for on the Democratic platform and indorsed, in effect, Barry Goldwater's statement of principles entitled *Conscience of a Conservative.*

Some Catholic radical papers give aid and comfort to totalitarian unions of Kennedy's following. But the *Tablet,* the most influential Catholic paper in the United States, has never budged from the position of the church as set forth by Pope Pius XII and the incumbent John, that the personality of man must not be superseded nor his conscience willingly suspended by a labor union or political party. This position is the deciding point of the controversy over the right-to-work or open-shop. Kennedy rejects it. Goldwater maintains it.

Model for Welfare State

The *Tablet* said the Democratic platform seemed to be a model for the welfare state. Everyone had a "right" not only to a job, even, perhaps, a job advocating the open-shop, but a "remunerative" job which would provide food, clothing and "recreation." The right to an abode seemed to mean not mere shelter but a "decent" home. Medical care was guaranteed and with it even the "opportunity" to enjoy good health.

"And," said the *Tablet,* "unions will be free to operate without the 'anti-labor excesses written into the labor laws'—such as those against exploitation of labor by crooks?"

"The government" would clear cities of slums, dispose of their sewage, educate their children, transport employees to and from their jobs and combat juvenile delinquency. Outside the cities the government would administer the management of water, timber and grazing lands, recreational areas, shores, forests, wilderness, energy, minerals and even pure air. It would rebuild transportation facilities on the ground and in the air and even regulate lunch counters.

"Most of these," the *Tablet* said, "are not offered merely as goals but as guarantees. It is hard to see how the platform could be enacted without ushering in more destructive inflation. These revolutionary ventures do not include foreign aid expenditures of millions.

Reject the Notion

"To top it off, the party leaders 'reject the notion' that Americans can't pay for this while continuing to meet obligations abroad, obtaining a balanced budget without an increase in taxes and some surplus for the gradual reduction of the national debt. Lost in this verbiage is the fact that this huge debt, close to $300,000,000,000, was achieved largely during the previous Democratic administrations and is ample indication that the people can't meet them without sinking deep into inflation-feeding debt."

"Nowhere," the *Tablet* observes, "does the platform say the individual has an obligation to care for himself, to provide for illness or old age. Everything is to be done for him. He has no worry. He has become a ward of the state. We are to become goose-steppers yielding to leaders who promise a Garden of Eden in return for our freedom—freedom which made America great. We are to abandon the rights of free men to accommodate the newly proclaimed rights to 'benefits' ordered by those who have assumed power over us. The one right not given is the right to live forever."

If the *Tablet* expresses Catholic principles, Kennedy's are violently non-Catholic if not, indeed, anti-Catholic.

Forgotten Man

McClellan: Jack's Springboard To Fame

From the Chicago Tribune

Not once during the week of the Democratic convention in Los Angeles did we hear a mention of Senator John L. McClellan of Arkansas. If he was present, he was silent. Yet we venture the guess that, without McClellan, there would have been no nomination of Senator John F. Kennedy.

Senator McClellan was chairman of the rackets committee which, for two years, presented a running rogue's gallery of union bosses. The investigation commanded wide public interest. Senator Kennedy was a member of the committee, but not a prominent one. His brother, Robert, committee counsel, did a lot of the talking, and in the public mind the brothers became somewhat confused, so that the impression prevailed that Senator Jack was quite a fellow.

So Senator McClellan provided a sounding board for Kennedy publicity, although Senator Kennedy's principal contribution to the hearings was to protect Walter Reuther's United Automobile Workers against a too searching inquiry into its picket line goon tactics. This helped quite as much as the publicity acquired by Bob and/or Jack, for the CIO boss was duly grateful and turned up in Kennedy's corner at Los Angeles.

Tired Blood Transfusion

Letter to the Chicago Tribune

When the Kennedy clan was sparing no effort or money in capturing the Democratic nomination, Jumping Jack and Ruthless Robert were loudly proclaiming that the party needed young blood. So whom do they call on for transfusions? Harriman, Stevenson, and Bowles. Tired blood, if you ask me.

—M. S. HOPPER

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A List OF Articles That Change PEOPLE'S MINDS Is To Be Found On The Back Of This Page

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LEFTIST BURDICK CARRIED NORTH DAKOTA By Less Than ONE VOTE per Precinct

A few weeks ago, the conservative Republican Governor Davis ran against the extreme leftist Democrat Quentin Burdick for the Senate seat lost to the Republicans by the death of William Langer.

Davis lost by 1100 votes—less than ONE VOTE per precinct. The liberal-labor bloc, financed and directed by the highly disciplined AFL-CIO and the Farmers Union, propagandized, registered, and voted virtually EVERY left-inclined voter in the state.

Not a single detail, however minute, was left undone.

The conservatives, on the other hand, had no massive highly disciplined machine to get out every conservative-minded voter. They had to depend upon enthusiastic, but unreliable volunteers.

The difference between the effectiveness of (1) the regimented, disciplined forces of the LEFT and (2) the voluntary forces of the right has been estimated to be at least TEN PER CENT.

As a result of their superior organization, the liberals can and do win elections where the vote, if everybody came out, would be 45 to 55 against them.

The GOP's North Dakota defeat may turn out to be a blessing if it warns conservatives that they must, as Goldwater says, QUIT SULKING and start WORKING.

The conservative majority exists. Every evidence points to the fact.

But conservatives do not go to the polls, they do not get others to the polls. They do not WORK—as do their opponents. They do not MAKE THEIR POWER FELT where it counts—at the polls.

Now for Your Question: What can YOU do?

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Walter Lippmann: Trumpet of Retreat

By William Henry Chamberlin

Walter Lippmann, often referred to in awe as The Pundit, occupies a unique position in American journalism. Conspicuously avoiding public discussion and debate he has created for many an image of an all-wise, all-comprehending, Olympian national elder counsellor on matters of foreign and domestic policy. There was scarcely a critical note or reservation in the book which some of his colleagues in Washington composed as a tribute for his 70th birthday.

More recently he was singled out by the CBS network for an hour's interview on his political views—consideration not shown to any other commentator. His friendly interrogator was Howard K. Smith, author of a book with a distinctly leftist slant, *The State of Europe*, which contains the revealing sentence: "Our aim should be Social Democracy for Europe." A good many Europeans did not agree with Mr. Smith; as Europe became stronger and more prosperous it became less Socialist; and today the "Social Democracy" which Mr. Smith hoped to see prevail throughout Europe holds out only in the three Scandinavian countries.

Writing a syndicated column for some 200 newspapers, Lippmann is read almost as widely in Europe as in America. He is also the author of numerous books, some ambitious attempts to wrestle with the moral, political and economic problems of the modern age, and still others more in the nature of quicky tracts for the times.

One might imagine that a pundit of such wide respect and renown would have an almost unbroken record of calling the shots accurately in international relations. One might expect that Lippmann would have foreseen the break-up of the unnatural alliance between dictatorial communism, bent on world domination, and the free nations of the West; that he would have hailed every new American step in resisting the designs of the Kremlin; that this powerful voice would have sounded like a trumpet, calling for vigorous government decisions in the cold war even before they were taken.

But an examination of the record, as spread out in Lippmann's books and columns, reveals a very different picture. It shows rather a man shot through with the fallacies of appeasement and the philosophy of defeatism, inclined to run away from stark challenges like the blockade of West Berlin and the invasion of Korea and the attack on Quemoy and Matsu, much quicker to see the mote in the American eye than the beam in the Soviet. Lippmann's is a trumpet that has again and again sounded retreat. He has a congenital tendency to overestimate Soviet capabilities and underestimate American. Whenever America is faced by a crisis he is much quicker to see what, in his opinion, we cannot do than what we can and should do and his proposed remedies for crisis situations are often amazing in their irrelevance.

Let's get down to the specifics of Lippmann's counsels to the American government and the American people during the war, and during the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations, right up to the U-2 crisis.

During the war Lippmann published a book, *United States War Aims* (Little Brown and Atlantic Monthly Press, 1944), which emphatically deflates the author's rights to be considered an accurate prophet of the shape of things to come. Here are a few of the more resounding flops in the field of prediction:

"The conclusive defeat of Japan will make the United States and the whole Atlantic Community invulnerably secure in the Pacific; the conclusive defeat of Germany will make Western Europe and the Americas secure." (p. 9)

The "conclusive defeats" were realized; but Lippmann himself would scarcely maintain today that security has been achieved. Other examples of false prophecies and policy recommendations that would have led to most disastrous results are numerous in this wartime book. On page 118 Lippmann declares: "Russia could take Germany into her camp much more quickly than we could take Germany into ours."

But the larger part of Germany that is free to express its will is one of the strongest bastions of the Western alliance; both communism and neo-nazism were overwhelmingly repudiated in every German free election.

In this same book (p. 105) Lippmann suggested that the Chinese should settle the fate of Japan and on Page 116 he made a similar proposal for Germany:

"We shall be wise if we let the European peoples, who are the victims of Germany, and must yet live next to Germany, settle the moral and political accounts . . . . They must live next to the Germans. Let Germany be judged by her peers. We are too far away to judge wisely and well."

The consequences of abdicating America's political responsibility in Japan to China, soon to pass under Communist rule, and the withdrawing from Germany in favor of "Germany's neighbors," among which the only strong military power was the Soviet Union, would have been disastrous to the last degree. In all probability they would have included the loss to communism of the entire Far East and of Western Europe.

Walter Lippmann's next offering on international affairs was a short work entitled *The Cold War: A Study in United States Foreign Policy* (Harper, 1947). This was a bitter, sustained attack on the newly announced policy of "containing" Communist expansion. And this policy was indeed open to criticism, on the grounds that it was too negative and passive; that it left the initiative to Moscow; that it offered little hope of liberation to the peoples enslaved by communism. But Lippmann assailed

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containment for precisely the wrong reason, not because it attempted too little, but because, as he believed, it attempted too much.

Writing in the tragic Cassandra, gloom-and-doom tones which are second nature to him when he is discussing any concrete scheme for checking Communist expansion, he set forth, not for the first or last time, a creed of complete defeatism as follows (*The Cold War*, p. 27):

"Either Russia will burst through the barriers which are supposed to contain her, and all of Europe will be at her mercy or, at some point and at some time, the diplomatic war will become a full-scale shooting war. In either event Europe is lost. Either Europe falls under the domination of Russia or Europe becomes the battleground of a Russian-American war.

"Because the policy of containment offers these intolerable alternatives to our allies, the real aim of every European country, including Great Britain, is to extricate itself from the Russian-American conflict."

PESSIMISM could scarcely be pitched in a lower key. In Lippmann's view any attempt to contain or resist Soviet expansion meant either war or driving Europe into frightened neutralism. From such a premise it is hard to see what conclusion, short of appeasing Soviet demands, could be drawn.

But, not for the first time, the prophet was, or should have been, without honor. His dire predictions did not come off. For, as cowardice is infectious, so is courage. It was the shift in American policy from Roosevelt's appeasement to Truman's containment that frustrated Stalin's more ambitious designs. Unsatisfactory as the state of the world is, it would be much worse if the faint-hearted counsels of Lippmann had been followed.

Had these counsels prevailed, NATO would never have come into existence. The German Federal Republic would not be today an armed ally in the Western camp. There would have been no defense of Korea.

Lippmann was the leading cheerleader in the loud, shrill chorus of appeasers and defeatists at the time when the Chinese Reds tried to bluff the United States into putting pressure on Chiang Kai-shek to evacuate the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu in August and September, 1958. In one of his September columns he proposed that Formosa be "neutralized and demilitarized." "It would be the corollary of such a proposal," he continued, "that the bulk of the mainland Chinese in Formosa should be repatriated to the mainland and that Chiang and his lieutenants should be given asylum in some safe place."

Here is surely the ultimate in the philosophy of yielding to hostile force. To desert an ally is an act of high statesmanship. To scuttle and run from an exposed outpost is to show capacity for world leadership. To knife an allied government in the back, to send back great numbers of its followers to death or slavery, magnanimously offering asylum to its head, is conduct worthy of a nation "conceived in liberty."

Fortunately for American national honor and for its position in the Far East, Lippmann's advice was less welcome to the Eisenhower Administration than it had been to Roosevelt's. There was no appeasement and there was no such catastrophic war as some of the more frightened appeasers foresaw. Far from being "indefensible," as the appeasers claimed, heavily fortified Quemoy held out and the Kuomintang flag is still flying there. Red China suffered at least a minor prestige setback.

Although a witty Washington hostess once bestowed on Lippmann the private nickname, "Operation Cross-eyed" and he has talked on both sides of some issues, the streak of defeatism *vis-a-vis* the Soviet Union has remained consistent.

IN TWO ARTICLES, published on May 17 and 19, The Pundit found just two words of criticism for Khrushchev about the summit blowup. The Soviet Premier's language had been "harsh and intemperate." For the rest, all the blame was on our side. Lippmann assumed quite uncritically that the downing of the U-2 plane was the *cause*, not the *excuse* for disrupting the summit talk before it got off the ground.

This interpretation ignored the highly relevant fact that Khrushchev had known of the U-2 flights for months, probably for years. The real reason for his decision to torpedo the summit was that he had got nowhere in trying to drive wedges into allied unity in standing for a free West Berlin.

Lippmann's advice never carried much weight with John Foster Dulles and after the Quemoy flurry had subsided another high figure in the Eisenhower Administration remarked with a smile: "We won a little war—against some of our columnists." But if John F. Kennedy should be the people's choice in November and, more from inexperience than from design, should inaugurate an Administration of Appeasement (Kennedy would have apologized to Khrushchev to save the intrinsically worthless summit meeting), Lippmann would be in his element as the great explainer and rationalizer, sounding his trumpet for every defeat or retreat.

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Articles That SWAY Men's Minds
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Human Events THE WASHINGTON NEWSLETTER

Vol. XVII, No. 35 September 1, 1960 Section I — News

ADVERTISING: *Tough future if Jack wins* (385)

STATE DEPARTMENT: *Anti-Nixon policy?* (385)

INTEREST RATES: *Exposing a "liberal" lie* (387)

ROCKY: *Dick's plane to Maine brought pain* (388)

RIGHT TO WORK: *Surprise for labor* .....(388)

New Allies for Nixon: Capital observers assign great significance to the lead article in the August 20 issue of *Editor & Publisher,* an organ of the newspaper and advertising fields. Almost all newspaper publishers and editors and officials of advertising companies read this trade journal regularly. In this issue, *Editor & Publisher* chose to take part of a speech by Hobart Franks, director of the Atlanta (Ga.) *Journal and Constitution,* and give it the leading place as the article of the week.

Under the title "Advertising Called to War on Its 'Socialist' Enemies," Franks assails the keynote speech at the Democratic Convention in Los Angeles, given by Senator Frank Church (D.-Idaho), for deploring the fact that the US spent three times as much money on advertising as on higher education; and for voicing the need to curb advertising and marketing. Church labeled American marketing as a "pitch man economy."

Franks traces these thoughts to the original authors, Professors Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and John K. Galbraith, both of Harvard, and both brain trusters attached to Candidate John F. Kennedy's GHQ.

And he reminds his readers that the 86th Congress, controlled by Democrats, is "not friendly to the advertising industry," that it has before it more than 100 bills affecting the industry and "almost all of them would restrict or tax or regulate this commodity." The industry—says Franks—had better "brace" itself for worse in the upcoming 87th Congress.

Warnings like this have a very sobering effect not only on advertising men but also on newspaper publishers, whose revenues depend largely on advertising. GOP politicos draw the conclusion that this may prove a tocsin call to newspapers all over the country not to support Kennedy. The article does not mention the Republican party or the Nixon-Lodge ticket, but readers get the obvious inference—that "work against" Kennedy-Johnson is the role of the press in the present campaign.

If this should turn out to be the result, the *Editor & Publisher's* "political action" would be epoch-making. For in the recent past, the large number of advertising men who actively supported the candidacies of FDR, Truman and Stevenson was a continuous source of amazement to those who recognized that advertising can thrive only under competitive conditions—the more competition, the more advertising. "Liberals" like FDR, Truman and Stevenson favored a government-controlled economy which automatically reduces competition and advertising.

Not the least interesting as the sign of a new awareness among advertising men and publishers of the dangers of "liberalism" to their trades is the fact that Hobart Franks, who gave the speech reprinted by Editor & Publisher, *is Advertising Director of the Atlanta* Journal and Constitution, *one of the "liberal" bell-wethers among newspapers throughout the country.*

State Department vs. Nixon?: Observers in the Capital who claim to know Nixon's plans for shaping the Government, if he is elected, keenly discuss the question—is the "liberal" clique in the State Department seeking to sabotage Nixon's chances for election?

It's a difficult thesis to document, but old hands present a persuasive argument. They say—and many agree—that Nixon was quite discontented with the failure of John Foster Dulles to "clean out" the old Acheson "appeasement" crowd in State. Dulles, for all his abilities, had no flair for administrative organization and flunked this problem badly. Nixon, it is said, is firmly resolved to institute a thorough purging, root and branch, of the old Acheson organization, if he wins the White House in November. He will also have to eliminate kinsmen of the Acheson crowd, whom Secretary Herter has placed in control since his assumption of the head of the State Department.

With this prospect looming—it is argued—the Acheson-Herter bureaucrats have no reason to try to harmonize State Department policy with the firm, anti-appeasement stand on which Nixon is running for President. If Nixon wins, they face relegation

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to retirement or minor posts. They probably note as of no little significance the fact that former Assistant Secretary of State Walter Robertson—Dulles' right-hand man in charge of Far Eastern affairs—heads the list of a new "Citizens for Nixon" group.

Robertson took a vigorous stand against the Chinese Reds, despite much trouble with the middle bureaucrats who tried to soften our policy towards Peiping; and he would ideally fit the specifications of the man to put in charge of the "purge of the liberals," should Nixon win in November. Indeed, Robertson's name is one of those mentioned (together with former Senator Knowland and former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Radford) as possible Nixon choices for the post of Secretary of State.

With this background, critics of the State Department cite the weak, "appeasing" policy of Secretary Herter and his aides at the OAS meeting just held in Costa Rica. Diplomatic Row believes that Herter put up no real fight against the OAS resolution to sever relations with and impose economic sanctions against the Dominican Republic. Trujillo, the Dominican dictator, has followed a staunch, anti-Communist (and anti-Nazi) policy during his long reign.

Herter was reportedly briefed for this conference by Undersecretary Charles "Chip" Bohlen, often described as the "architect of Yalta" and the brains of the "liberal clique."

Herter, it is recalled, was regarded as anti-Nixon in 1956 when the Vice President sought re-election, and a confederate of Harold Stassen, who tried to block Nixon's bid for re-election. Herter also has connections by marriage, with the Rockefeller interests—which include extensive oil holdings in Venezuela. That republic, now under a leftist regime, demanded the unprecedented measures taken by the OAS against the Dominican Republic. It is rumored that the Venezuelan leftist regime had been threatening to expropriate American oil interests (estimated at $3 billion) unless it got its way in a harsh policy toward Trujillo.

In short, signs point to Nixon's facing a distinctly adverse factor, right within the Ike regime, in his campaign this fall.

Capitol Camera: The "bobtail" session of Congress has boomeranged on the Democratic ticket. After the extremely "liberal" care-for-the-aged bill, sponsored by Senator Kennedy, was defeated last week, the young Presidential candidate took it very badly —according to the Capitol grapevine. He shut himself up in his office and steamed about how "my own party has doubled-crossed me."

• *Fact is—both the Kennedy and the Javits care-for-aged bills (the latter demanded by Nixon) were defeated. The mild one favored by conservative Senator Harry Byrd passed, prompting Representative Carroll Reece (R.-Tenn.) to remark, "It looks like Congress remains conservative."*

• Senator Harry Byrd (D.-Va.) reportedly refuses to back the Kennedy-Johnson ticket, wants Nixon to win Virginia. He has turned bitterly against Senator Lyndon Johnson and is said to have privately rebuked colleague Senator Robertson for coming out for the Kennedy-Johnson ticket.

• *One of the few constructive moments of the current Senate session came last week during the foreign aid debate when the Upper House approved an amendment by Styles Bridges to cut off aid to any country selling arms or giving economic assistance to Cuba. Bridges expressed himself along these lines in his June* 9, 1960, HUMAN EVENTS *article,* "Let's Not Pamper Other Nations."

• Senator Russell Long (D.-La.) fights the battle, in the present rump session of Congress, to protect American sovereignty against so-called "world law." He has introduced an extremely important Reservation to a proposed Convention of the Sea (now before the Senate), which would preserve the Connally Reservation in this area. Observers say he needs support and vigilance among other Senators.

• *Former Governor Goodwin Knight of California now reported to be courting GOP conservatives in the Golden State. Knight won the Governorship in* 1954 *by appealing to right-wing, anti-Warren elements. Then he "turned left" and helped sabotage the Knowland bid for Governor in* 1958. *Now, out of obscurity, he's executing another flip-flop, aimed at the State House two years hence. Comment: nice work if he can pull it off.*

• Southern revolt simmers. Arkansas' Governor Faubus was reported (by TV's Mike Wallace) as saying he believes Nixon can be the first GOP Presidential candidate since U. S. Grant to carry Arkansas.

• *South Dakota GOP Senator Karl Mundt, up for re-election against "liberal" Democratic Representative George McGovern, now leads in their race, according to a poll by three leading newspapers in the state. Jimmy Hoffa announced his support of McGovern in a telegram to the Omaha, Nebraska,* World Herald.

• Former GOP House leader Joe Martin's long-awaited autobiography will be released later this month. Readers who hope Martin didn't pull any punches in telling of his leadership ouster by Charlie Halleck in 1959 won't be disappointed. The battle-scarred Bay Stater neither spares the details nor fails to name the big names whom he feels let him down in an ungentlemanly—and in some cases unmanly—manner.

• *The GOP's keynote speech hero, Minnesota's Walter Judd, confessed last week that "I'm a Jeffersonian Democrat, but I find that the only way I can fight for the Jeffersonian principles is through the Republican party."*

• Kennedy adviser Wilbur J. Cohen is now telling Kennedy how to include everybody in the Social Security system. Cohen served in the Truman

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Administration under Commissioner of Social Security Altmeyer, and though neither an actuary nor a mathematician, he helped sell Congress the fraudulent notion that SS was an "insurance" system.

• *Quip of the week*: *Congressman William E. Miller (R.-N. Y.) described Jack Kennedy as the "foundering father of the New Frontier." Miller said that the Senate's rejection of the Kennedy-backed liberal medical care plan for the aged "proves conclusively Kennedy's lack of leadership over his own party . . . illustrates that the country is not ready for Mr. Kennedy and that he is not ready for the country."*

• Vice President Nixon brilliantly handled the barbed questions thrown at him for 45 minutes on the Jack Paar show. The interview was immediately followed by a deodorant commercial, a fact that will inspire a thousand wisecracks and serve as a warning to the GOP of the well-known fact that the personnel of the networks and of the entertainment industry is 90 per cent leftist.

Revolt Against Liberalism: The New York *Times* reports new hope among North Carolina Republicans: "Democratic state leaders privately conceded that the party's gubernatorial nominee, Terry Sanford, faced a hard battle against Robert L. Gavin, the Republican choice." A GOP candidate for governor having the remotest chance in North Carolina is one of the world's seven wonders—Ike failed to carry the state in both 1952 and 1956.

But the reason for the rise of GOP optimism in North Carolina today springs not only from the Republican resurgence in the South but also from a strong Tar Heel reaction against Sanford, an extreme "liberal."

• Wyoming looks good to Republicans. In the recent primary, Congressman Keith Thomson, GOP nominee for the Senate seat now held by "liberal" Democrat O'Mahoney, got almost double the vote cast for the Democratic nominee and the total vote for GOP candidates was greater than the combined vote for all Democratic candidates.

ACA-Index ratings for Wyoming: Democratic Senator O'Mahoney, 12% conservative; Democratic Senator McGee, whose term runs until 1964, zero; and Thomson (Wyoming's only Representative), 85%.

• Does it pay for Republicans to woo Democrats and Independents by voting "liberal?" A test is seen in New Hampshire. Facing the voters in November are three Republicans:

Senator Styles Bridges, ACA-Index rating, 92%; Representatives Perkins Bass, 83%, and Chester E. Merrow, 35%. Merrow has the POOREST rating of any Republican member of Congress (although that poor rating—believe it, or not—is better than exactly 200 Democratic members!). "Liberal" Republican Merrow is generally considered to have less chance for re-election than any incumbent Republican Congressman in all New England.

Bar Meeting: Many American Bar Association members streaming into Washington for the annual meeting this week are plugging for election of Albert J. Schweppe as ABA Assembly Delegate. A distinguished lawyer from Seattle, with a profound knowledge of international law, Schweppe has fought the battle to protect American sovereignty against "one-world" attempts to dilute or destroy it. He worked closely with former ABA President Frank Holman in pushing the Bricker Amendment and now writes cogently against attempts to repeal the Connally Reservation to the World Court act.

Democrats and Cheap Money: In their oratory and in their "Santa Claus" party platform adopted at Los Angeles, the Democrats reiterate their criticism of "Republican high interest rates." They say that the "sound dollar" fiscal and monetary policies of the Eisenhower Administration have forced people to pay excessive interest rates when they wish to borrow at the bank. The uninformed, listening to the Democrats' barrage, would get the impression that under Ike the American people pay the highest interest rates in the world.

This is a fantastic lie, as may be seen in a careful analysis of world interest rates presented in the August business letter of the National City Bank of New York. The analysis lists the rate for prime commercial loans, available to good business firm borrowers. The prime rate in the US in recent months—5%—is one of the lowest anywhere on the globe. In the past week, the rate in some areas has fallen to 4½%. In contrast, in Britain it is 6½%; in France 7½%; Italy from 6½ to 7½%; in Greece, from 9 to 10%; in Denmark, 7½%; in Japan 9%.

It is significant that in Sweden and Norway, two "welfare states" noted for their socialistic economies, the rate is 6½% and 5½%, respectively. When you run down the list to countries in Latin America, which have favored the "cheap money" idea, you find that the prime loan rate is 15% in Chile, 13% and 13½% in Peru, and 12% in Brazil and Paraguay. Argentina, Ecuador and Mexico have 10% prime rates. It is pointed out that these are the lowest rates in those countries available to good firms but that other borrowers have to pay more.

The *Wall Street Journal*, commenting on the National City Bank analysis, says, "For the people 'cheap' money [as demanded by the Democratic orators] is the most expensive of all." In Washington, Republicans soundly retort to the Democratic propagandists, "the high price of cheap money."

HON. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN DORN, Member of Congress from South Carolina: "So often I see in HUMAN EVENTS facts which many of our so-called great publications are either afraid or are unwilling to publish. HUMAN EVENTS is most informative and helpful."

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No Time for Rocky: Is Nelson Rockefeller being downgraded by the Nixon strategy board? Many are convinced that the politically canny Vice President doesn't want to give the New York Governor —a "take charge guy" in everything he does—too much chance to grab the election-year spotlight. Capital observers began to think along these lines after Nixon flew to Maine on August 14 for a day of campaigning. Rockefeller, vacationing at his summer home in Seal Harbor, Maine, called Nixon and invited the VP to spend the evening with him. Dick said he was sorry but that he couldn't make it. Rocky then offered to drive down to see the Presidential nominee, but Nixon told him not to bother.

It is also apparent that none of the Nixon brain trusters appointed last month can be termed Rockefeller men. They are either Eisenhower era advisers, such as Arthur F. Burns and Gabriel Hauge, or men Nixon has himself worked in, such as top physicist Edward Teller and labor adviser Lon Fuller, who taught Nixon at Duke Law School.

Now, many Republicans think, Nixon's job is to use Rocky effectively without either allowing him to ham his way into the spotlight or make him feel unwanted, which could lead to one of Nelson's pouting spells.

Barry's Arizona: In Barry Goldwater's State of Arizona, the labor bosses are having it rough this year. John J. Rhodes, a conservative Republican and one of Arizona's two Congressmen, is expected to thrash his AFL-CIO-backed opponent, Richard Harless; and Mac C. Matheson, a radio executive and an ardent Goldwater supporter, is given more than an even chance to upset "liberal" Democratic Representative Udall.

If this doesn't have organized labor moping enough, consider its plight over the contest for Governor.

The AFL-CIO recently staged a debate between Republican Governor Paul Fannin and his opponent, Democrat Lee Ackerman, over Arizona's Right-to-Work law.

After Fannin stoutly defended it, the labor bosses anxiously waited to hear Ackerman tear Fannin's arguments to shreds. Ackerman did no such thing. He strode to the platform and then, lo and behold, committed heresy: He praised Right-to-Work.

Then, heaping insult upon injury, he advised organized labor to be "realistic" and stop "fighting" such legislation. Further—and by this time the bosses were so infuriated that more than half of them stomped out of the convention hall (those remaining were apparently so stunned they couldn't get up)—Ackerman boldly declared Right-to-Work had helped "create new jobs, new opportunities, new union membership." And he cited facts and figures to prove these points.

P.S.—The state AFL-CIO is not endorsing anyone for Governor in Arizona this year.

Inside the Congo: "The Congo will return to barbarism unless the Western-oriented Katanga is allowed to take the lead . . . . The leaders of Katanga are the most evolved, intelligent and knowledgeable about world affairs and economics. It is the only area in the Congo where I hear pro-Western sentiment expressed by the political leaders."

These are the measured words of journalist Philippa Schuyler, an expert on Africa, whose stay in the Congo as guest of Premier Patrice Lumumba was cut short recently by the rioting of Lumumba's troops.

Miss Schuyler, also a concert pianist and daughter of George Schuyler, famous editor of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, has just returned to the Congo where she will send exclusive reports to HUMAN EVENTS.

• Russian-backed Premier Patrice Lumumba, in typical Communist fashion, has now begun a virulent anti-religion campaign in the Congo where Catholics make up more than one-third of the population.

This was brought to light last week by the Brooklyn *Tablet*, which published a supposedly secret anti-clerical document signed and circulated by Lumumba among his followers in the Bakusu tribe. A copy was smuggled out of the Congo by natives opposed to the Premier and delivered to neighboring Uganda.

In strong revolutionary language, the memorandum declares: "We must use every ruse to paralyze the clergy; never respect it; cause them every possible trouble so that they will not be able to oppose us."

Lumumba's "hate" document was reported by reliable sources, and it fits in with his threats to nationalize all mission schools and the charges by his Minister of Information that Bishop Joseph Malula and Msgr. Luc Gillion had even plotted against Lumumba's life.

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Civil Rights Overrun Privilege of Privacy

By Raymond Moley

It has often been said, with great truth, that the toughest public problems are not decisions between right and wrong but between two conflicting rights. It was so when a right-to-work law was placed on the ballot in several states two years ago. A man should have a right to keep his means of livelihood without joining and contributing to a union. But, it was contended, that an employer has a right to make a closed-shop contract with a union. In such cases it is the responsibility of statesmanship to consider all the practical facts involved and to legislate in some way that will save the substance of right on both sides and inflict the least infringement upon freedom of choice.

It is so with what are called civil rights. Properly considered, what are now called civil rights have moved far beyond either moral or legal rights. Politicians in public authority have consistently moved to make legal rights under Federal law out of many matters which formerly either were regarded as private privilege or have been established within the exclusive powers of the states.

There is something called the reign of law, and also something known as the consent of the governed. These principles, as old as Anglo-Saxon civilization, mean roughly that law, any law, if it is to be respected and enforced, must appeal to an overwhelming majority of those who live under it.

The Temperance Movement was an effort to strengthen individual and social sanctions. Temperance said, "Don't touch the stuff." Prohibition said, "You can't have it." The latter failed except in places where an overwhelming majority of the people agreed.

It will be so with civil rights. Legislation already passed and in Supreme Court decisions, and, above all, in the party platforms, proposes to push Federal authority on and on into the area formerly occupied by public opinion and state and local law. Reasonable individuals must realize that the point at which Federal power can effectively operate has already been passed and the further response to those who want more "rights" created by law not only will be ineffective but will greatly worsen the situation of Negroes. For when the people who hold governmental authority in the Southern states are disregarded, the response of the people who have elected those governments, will be a denial of privileges and benefits hitherto granted the Negroes. In fact, that is what has already happened. The relations between the two races have already deteriorated. The greatest loss is suffered by the Negroes.

A comparison of the two platforms of the parties this year makes it clear that the Democratic platform is far more drastic than that of the Republicans. It also goes beyond anything since the Radical Republicans were riding high and cruelly in the days of the Reconstruction.

This is especially true of the provisions which concern eligibility to vote and the recent sit-down agitation. The Democrats would abolish all literacy tests for voting, presumably in the North as well as the South. The Republicans say that the completion of the sixth grade should be expected as a literacy qualification. That is fair.

The Democrats mention sit-downs by name. The Republicans commend those who have eliminated discrimination in retail establishments and urge others to follow the example.

But in urging more legislation, both were guided by political expediency. The Democrats said, in effect, to the South: "We don't need you any more." The Republicans said: "We need New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois more than we need you."

Cynicism breeds cynicism. When, to gain a political advantage, political leaders go beyond what they must reasonably believe to be wise and just, it follows that citizens everywhere will be either cynical or indifferent toward all politics and politicians.

For there are two kinds of rights arrayed here: the rights of the South to deal with its problem by gradual means, and, on the other side, the rights demanded by many Negroes.

Perhaps neither party means all that it says in its platform. That would be super-cynicism.

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Free Thinkers About Nothing

From the Indianapolis News

If you were to quiz an average university professor about what, exactly, is being taught to American students these days, you would probably get an answer like this:

No particular philosophy is taught to students—except that of free inquiry. No attempt should be made to promote specific beliefs—for example, a belief in God, the free enterprise system, or the sovereignty of the United States. Any such effort at indoctrination would violate "academic freedom."

This point of view is hotly contested in some quarters, but it would at least be tenable if its advocates stuck to it. But the fact is, as several conservative writers have been at pains to show, students nowadays are not really allowed to choose freely among competing ideas. Instead they are led subtly into acceptance of collectivism.

Righteous Indignation

When this charge has come from education critics on the right, it has usually been met with outcries of righteous indignation. But now it has been confirmed, in no uncertain terms, by an unimpeachably "liberal" source: a professor at Harvard University.

Sociologist David Riesman recently took a survey of political attitudes among students at Harvard, and found nearly one-third of them believing the federal government should own and operate all basic industries; a majority favoring recognition of Red China; and 80% agreeable to federal aid to public schools.

According to the Harvard Crimson's summary of the findings, the university can take major credit for the students' holding these views. "For the most part," the paper reported, "the college students did not arrive in Cambridge with these beliefs; they picked them up at Harvard.

Harvard Orientated

"Over half admit that their political views have been strongly influenced since freshmen registration and, of these, seven-tenths have changed either from 'conservative to liberal' or from 'liberal to more liberal.'" Chief influence in the conversion: "lectures and assigned reading courses."

In short, the Harvard survey confirms to the letter what conservative critics have long maintained. It ought to make interesting reading for the Harvard alumni who have been mustering millions annually to keep Harvard the most richly-funded university in America.

Rope-Skipping Congress

From the Nashville Tennessean

A little boy touring the Capital looked baffled when told that congress was in recess.

"You know what 'recess' means," his mother said. "You get them every day at school."

"But mother," the boy replied, "aren't those men kinda old to be playing games?" —JERRY BENNETT

Millionaire Eaton Finances Youth for Red China Drive

By Fulton Lewis, Jr.

Millionaire fellow-traveler Cyrus Eaton is bankrolling a new nation-wide student group called The Undergraduate Committee for the Recognition of (Communist) China.

Eaton money has helped finance chapters at more than fifty colleges, from Princeton to the University of California. The committee is just the latest plaything of the Cleveland industrial tycoon, a close personal friend of Nikita Khrushchev.

Inquiring Reporter

To find out more about the group, I sent a reporter of mine, Bill Schulz, to Oxford, Ohio, home of Miami University, to interview one of the student leaders. Posing as a left-wing student anxious to set up a committee chapter at nearby Antioch College, an institution known for its liberal political atmosphere, reporter Schulz uncovered some interesting aspects about the organization.

It's all supposed to be hush-hush—"it would be horrible if the reactionaries found out about it," the Miami student told my reporter—but Eaton and his wife have pledged "unlimited" funds to back the national campaign.

The group was hatched at Eaton's Arcadia Farms estate outside Cleveland last June. It was decided there to work through college chaplains in setting up local chapters.

"After all," the Miami student says, "they're the most progressive single force in the country. Most of them don't even believe in old-fashioned ideas about God, which is good, and that resolution by the National Council of Churches (calling for recognition of Red China) was marvelous."

Chaplains Enlisted

Letters were sent to 1,300 college chaplains across the country. They were asked to help form local committees and circulate petitions demanding recognition for Red China. The leaders hope to "bombard" the White House with the petitions.

Response was "gratifying." Fifty college chapters have been set up, with more to come. Colleges with "active" groups include Princeton, Princeton Theological Seminary, Harvard, Columbia, Brown, Pembroke, Ohio State, University of Arizona, and University of California.

The group had no luck with Catholic schools. It has been unable to find any faculty members or students at such colleges willing to work with the committee.

NAACP Included

On those campuses where college chaplains refuse to cooperate the group plans to recruit leaders from the ranks of other "progressive" groups. These include the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

The committee feels that up to 75 per cent of the country's college professors will sign, while the percentage of students will be somewhat lower.

At Miami University, the committee expects 300 out of the school's 400 professors to sign, but "only" 1,000 of the 6,000 students.

'Stupid' Trouble-makers

"It is only the stupid ones, with no educational background, who give us any trouble," said the Miami student leader.

The Undergraduate Committee for Recognition of China has national political backing, according to its chairman. Chief supporter is Ohio's acid-tongued, left-wing Senator Stephen Young, who has given the group his blessing. House backers include Representative Charles Porter and Robert Meyer, both of whom will be asked to make speeches on the floor lauding the group.

Schulz was offered a job as the group's national recruiting officer. Traveling on Cyrus Eaton's tab, it would be his function to criss-cross the country helping to set up Red China chapters.

Giveaway: For the Birds

A robin who hated digging for worms, heard a voice: "I'll trade you a worm for a feather." A feather? That's nothing," cried the robin. "I accept." Each day the same offer, the same acceptance. Suddenly came winter. The robin cried out for his feathers. No answer. Soon the robin, once feather-covered, was snow-covered—dead! To get something for nothing, he gave everything—his life.

Mundt Seeks School For Anti-Communists

By Senator Karl Mundt

The "hard line" taken by Red Boss Nikita Khrushchev has resulted in renewed interest in a proposal I introduced last year to establish a Freedom Academy. Purpose of the Academy would be to develop systematic knowledge about the international Communist conspiracy and in turn develop a program of counteraction through which private citizens, nongovernmental organizations and government agencies and personnel could be educated and trained to carry on this program to meet the challenges and threats of Communism. The events at the time following the collapse of the Summit demonstrate that we are engaged in a global battle for men's minds and hearts. We can best meet this challenge by better arming and equipping ourselves with the ideological weapons and dedicated personnel required to win the struggle to preserve freedom. The Freedom Academy is one method by which we can forcefully devote our talents, vision and resources toward promoting the cause of liberty in effectively offsetting and defeating the Communist drive for world domination. Senator Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.), who presided over the Senate Internal Security subcommittee hearings on this measure (S. 1689), has indicated possibilities have improved for obtaining approval of the bill by the Senate Judiciary Committee before Congress adjourns.

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National Purpose --One-Sided View

From the Charleston, S. C., News and Courier

Life magazine and the New York *Times* recently concluded a joint series of articles by prominent Americans on the general theme of the national purpose. These articles, written by Adlai Stevenson, Walter Lippmann, Archibald MacLeish, James Reston and others, have resulted in considerable editorial comment around the country.

This was an impressive series, deserving close attention by thoughtful citizens. Each one of the contributors has made a mark on American life. But the series was as revealing for what was unsaid as for what was expressed. It was a convincing demonstration that these influential journals are unwilling to tell more than one side of the American story, or to discuss more than one general view of the National Purpose—a phrase we shall be reading frequently these days.

Exponents of Liberalism

Messrs. Stevenson, Lippmann, MacLeish et al are exponents of "liberalism." They are confirmed believers in the importance of federal participation in every area of life. While we do not deny that they are men of keen intelligence, they represent only a portion of the truth about the United States and its purposes. We use the plural form advisedly, for this is too big a country to be committed to any single National Purpose. Yet most of the contributors to this series of articles want to commit the United States to greater centralization in government. They indicate this is the only direction the United States can take in a rapidly changing world.

We dissent from that view. Moreover, we know that an equal number of outstanding Americans could have been selected to discuss the National Purpose who would have pointed to markedly different aims.

Distinguished Conservatives

If *Life* and the New York *Times* want truly to live up to their responsibility they will carry on the series and invite spokesmen for American conservatism to discuss the national purposes. Among distinguished conservatives that come to mind are Vermont Royster of *The Wall Street Journal;* former Senator William Knowland of California; Dr. Russell Kirk, General Albert Wedemeyer; William F. Buckley, Jr., editor of the *National Review;* Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, and George Sokolsky.

We do not expect that *Life* and The New York *Times* will give their audiences the opportunity to know the other side of the story, to view the entire spectrum of national purpose. This is part of the tragedy of contemporary America in which a single point-of-view is presented as the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

COMMENTARY reprints available: single copy 20c; 10 for $1; 25 for $2; 100 for $5; 500 for $20; 1,000 for $30.

Love Me, Or Else !

Stopping at a school in Warsaw, Khrushchev asked one of the pupils: "How do you like the Hungarians?" "The Hungarians are our friends," was the answer. "Great," said Khrushchev. "What do you think of the Czechs?" "The Czechs are our friends." "And the Bulgarians?" "They are our friends," came the answer. "And now, what about the Russians?" "The Russians are our brothers!" the student answered. "Perfect! But after calling the others your friends, why do you say the Russians are your brothers?" asked the Soviet Premier. Responded the pupil: "You can *choose* your friends."

Budding Anti-Government Fixation Upsets 'Big Spend' Senator Clark

From the Chicago Tribune

Senator Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania, a Democratic left winger, recently referred to the threat of an "anti-government fixation" in America that could lead to a "new anarchy." Apparently, the Senator thinks that the more the government takes from the taxpayer, the more the taxpayer should love it. But, as he observes a certain sort of restiveness in the crowd, he thinks the government should exact greater love from them by taking even more from them.

Clark Afraid?

This would be his method of averting the "new anarchy." Heaven only knows what terrible form this anarchy might take. It might even result in the voters retiring Senator Clark to private life.

The June monthly letter of the First National City Bank of New York remarks dryly that Senator Clark's fears of an "anti-government fixation" seem rather farfetched. It could be said, at least, that if there is any such spirit abroad in the land, it has yet to attain anything like effective expression, for government gets bigger and costlier all the time and spreads out in ever more directions.

Just Keeps Growing

The bank letter seems to hint that a little anti-government fixation might not be such a bad thing, for the burgeoning federal bureaucracy and the tax confiscation of a great part of the fruits of enterprise show no signs of abatement. In fact, the bank's analysis is that if total government civilian employment continues to expand at the same rate as in the 25 years preceding 1957, we shall all be working for government by the year 2069.

In the mid-1920's federal, state, and local governments were taking 10.8 per cent of the gross national product, which is the aggregate of goods and services produced by the economy, including, also, what government spends to procure its share of them. As of now the figure is 31 per cent. The citizens who used to keep 89 per cent of the fruits of production have had their share pushed down to 69 per cent, and the trend is always for government to take more and for the people to keep less.

The bank letter suggests that Senator Clark and those of his mind tend to forget that the central idea of the American Revolution was that government should be limited, and that this was written into the Constitution. So the Senator's "new anarchy" is very old and very respectable in American thought.

Freedom is Traditional

"One trouble with the idea of turning our affairs over to the dictates of wise men sitting in government offices," the First National City analysis remarks, "is that it clashes with the traditional beliefs of our people. The right to be different, the right to live according to our lights, is rooted too deeply in the American soil to be passively given up. The citizen has no reason to believe that public officials are exempt from human frailties."

When people spend their own money, they are casting ballots on what ought to be produced. They all make mistakes, as government does in its procurement, but the bank letter points out that they usually are obliged to be rather more careful than government for the money they stand to lose if they are mistaken is their own. They cannot, as can government, blithely forget the bloomer and go back to the source—which is the taxpayer—for more. The mistakes of individuals tend to be small mistakes. They are not the billion dollar variety such as government makes.

So we are encouraged when such an inveterate enthusiast for bigger and better government spending as Senator Clark discerns an "anti-government fixation." Though it may be no bigger than a man's hand at the moment, let us trust that it will grow until the Senator and all his breed are overwhelmed.

Adlai's Big Decision

From the Washington Daily News

Man named Charles Haight was in town the other day with a bunch of merchandisers and he says he's glad Adlai Stevenson didn't get the Democratic Presidential nomination.

Mr. Haight is boss of the firm which redecorated the White House several years ago, and he also directed the renovation of Mr. Stevenson's branch office in New York recently.

"Mr. Stevenson is too indecisive," Haight said. "It took him two days to choose a wastebasket."

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The Connally Reservation Must Stand

Baltimore attorney Frank Ober has made an extensive study of the International Court of Justice, its member nations and the role of the US in that world judicial body. His findings, which are being discussed in the American Bar Association's House of Delegates meeting in Washington this week, advance a number of little-known facts which support the contention of those who believe that the United States must retain the Connally Reservation, the all important safeguard which permits the US to determine for itself whether disputes involving this nation are domestic matters, or matters which could appropriately be submitted to the International Court for judgment.

Some of Mr. Ober's findings are contained in the questions and discussion below:

Law by Custom

Should the Connally Reservation be repealed (a) at a time when the World Court's personnel is rapidly changing and will include an increasing number of judges with a Communist or anti-Western bias, and (b) where the "law" is largely dependent on what judges with 15 different national backgrounds and half a dozen differing legal systems can deduce from such vague standards as "custom" and "practice?"

Proponents of repeal make much of the fact that France and Britain have abandoned the *jurisdictional* reservation. *With complete lack of frankness,* they fail to point out the importance of France's third *present* reservation as to "disputes arising out of a crisis affecting the national security or out of any measure or action relating thereto," and that France may withdraw at any time on notice.

Britain Has Safeguard

The reference by repeal proponents to Britain's dropping its express security reservation is equally misleading. The proponents of the Connally repeal *fail* to *mention* the tremendously important safety provisions of the *present* British declaration of adherence. Moreover, Britain, in addition to 9 specific reservations, expressly reserves the right *"at any time* by means of a notification . . . to the Secretary-General, and with effect as and from the MOMENT of such notification . . . to ADD to, amend, or withdraw any of the foregoing reservations." Surely, we likewise could be safe without a jurisdictional or even specific national security reservation if we could *at any moment* add any reservation we wished, or terminate our adherence without notice as soon as trouble appeared on the distant horizon.

Two immediately pertinent illustrations of threats to national security, which emphasize the importance of at least some type of security reservation, are Panama and Cuba.

Panama—There is much dispute as to whether problems involving the Panama Canal are "international" as some experts say, whether—as some proponents of Connally Amendment repeal apparently seeking to reassure us say—they are domestic in character. But none can doubt that the Panama Canal is vital to our national security—indeed our survival—and the doubts as to its status, which prompted the reservation, justify present fears of the opponents of repeal. If an unfriendly World Court assumes jurisdiction, can we be sure it will distinguish Panama's rights and the limits of its "titular" sovereignty from Egypt's rights in Suez to seize that canal?

Appeal to UN

Cuba—That Cuba is now dominated by Russia and a victim of international communism is clear; she claims, with typical Communist effrontery, that the United States is "intervening" in violation of the UN Charter; she has even appealed to the UN Security Council (July 11, 1960); her government has claimed we violated international law when we cut off her sugar quota—while it confiscates all American assets; and she even threatens our base at Guantanamo—so vital to Caribbean defense. If Cuba deems it advantageous she can adhere to compulsory jurisdiction of the World Court tomorrow and (assuming we repeal the Connally reservation) sue us in the World Court and there claim a sovereign right to cancel the Guantanamo lease, and refer it and other pending disputes to the World Court as "legal" disputes if her present political efforts fail.

Adherence Reservations

The proposal that we repeal the Connally Reservation unilaterally without any attempt to secure joint action by other nations, with the hope that they will follow our leadership, is completely unjustified. It is unjustified because: (a) no Communist nation has ever accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court with or without reservation; (b) only *five* members now have the Connally-type Reservation, and if they follow our "lead," *four* of the five would still be protected by their reserved right to terminate adherence at will, while we *would still be bound ourselves to give a six months' notice;* (c) out of the 38 (actually 36) members said by the A.B.A. Report to have currently effective declarations of acceptance of compulsory jurisdiction, 16, according to Professor Sohn, have *major reservations*—but he neglects to include eight *in addition* that can withdraw *at will;* (d) so only 14 or 17% accept compulsory jurisdiction in any meaningful sense; (e) India has withdrawn her adherence entirely.

No Basis for Optimism

Manifestly, frank proponents of repeal must admit: (1) that the Connally-type Reservation plays but a tiny part in a much larger picture; (2) that the vast majority of the reservations, including the 23 reserving the right to withdraw at will, demonstrate that very few (14) nations have even been willing to agree to compulsory jurisdiction for any fixed period and without some type of security reservation. What is there in recent diplomatic history to sustain the argument for repeal that our leadership in unilateral judicial disarmament would be more effective than unilateral military disarmament?

The proponents of repeal assume the World Court will be unbiased. That the two Communist members now on the Court would vote against us if the interest of communism were involved cannot be disputed. There can be no doubt that all judges from monolithic governments act as agents of the state, in exactly the same manner as do Communist judges. The conception of an independent judiciary is confined to relatively few countries.

UN Selects Judges

That the number of Communist judges and those appointed by unfriendly powers will increase must be clear to anyone who examines the electoral machinery in the light of present conditions. The judges are selected by concurrent action of the Security Council and the General Assembly. Changes in the character of the General Assembly will therefore be inevitably reflected in the composition of the Security Council. The General Assembly, originally consisting of 42, is now 82; new members are being admitted at an accelerated rate.

Mr. Hamilton, the expert of the New York *Times,* reporting on the United Nations on July 10, 1960, made the following revealing statements: The present Asian-African bloc of 29 out of 82 members will be increased by a minimum of 14 new African states (including the Congo), which have recently attained independence; this will bring the African total alone to 22, or more than the Latin American bloc or the Asian section of the Asian-African bloc; the African bloc, by 1965 at least, will have 30 or more votes out of 105; that even our once reliable supporters like Liberia and Ethiopia have turned to neutralism; and that such new admissions will not be offset by more than a handful of other nations.

Looking Ahead

This report plainly shows therefore that Africa (though 80% illiterate, according to UNESCO) by 1965 will have 30 times our voting power in the General Assembly. It is wholly misleading for the proponents of repeal to ignore the significance of the changing personnel of the UN and the probability, or substantial certainty, that the political jockeying of the new nations in the General Assembly will be reflected in a larger representation of the Afro-Asian and Communist blocs, both in the Security Council and the World Court. Russia, having with its admitted satellites eight votes (not to mention other Communist or neutralist nations which will vote with them) can hardly be counted upon not to take advantage of the opportunity to get more representation both in the Security Council and the World Court.

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